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THE POSITIONS OF VICTOR STATUES AT OLYMPIA

I. STATUES MENTIONED BY PAUSANIAS. — Pausanias is our chief source of information concerning the statues set up in honor of victors at Olympia. After describing the “votive offerings” at the end of Book V, he begins the enumeration of the monuments of “race horses . . . and athletes and private individuals.”¹ This description falls into two routes (*ἔφοδοι*), the first containing the statues of 169 victors and the second those of 19. Both accounts also mention many monuments erected in honor of private persons. The first route begins with the Heraeum in the northwestern part of the sacred enclosure; the second begins — manifestly where the first ends — with the Leonidaeum at the southwestern corner, and extends to the great altar of Zeus near the centre of the Altis. Besides these meagre indications of his routes furnished by Pausanias himself, we are fortunate in knowing accurately the position of one statue, that of Telemachus, the 122nd victor mentioned, whose base still stands in its original position near the south wall of the Altis, a little southeast of the temple of Zeus, showing that the route passed before the eastern front of this temple and then westward to the Leonidaeum. With these data, and with the help of some forty inscribed bases of statues and other monuments mentioned by Pausanias, many of which were found near their original positions, it is possible to trace yet more definitely his routes. And so several attempts have been made since the German excavations to define topographically the position of these statues, especially

¹ ἔππων ἀγωνιστῶν . . . καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἀθλητῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν ὁμοίως (VI, 1, 1).

The position of several inscribed base fragments of statues corresponding to Pausanias' order of presentation, should alone be sufficient to confute the doubts raised by some¹ that these routes through the Altis were not topographical. But in any attempt to reconstruct them, we must constantly be on our guard against assuming that Pausanias describes a continuous line or row of monuments, as both Hirschfeld and Scherer thought. Though here and there this may have been true, still, generally speaking, we must conceive of these statues as strewn about the Altis in no further order than that they stood in groups and that these groups had only a general direction. For we shall see that Pausanias sometimes returns to the same spot without mentioning it, and often leaves long spaces unnoticed. Apart from the indication of such groups in the description itself, as attested by the use of such words as *παρά, ἐφεξῆς, πλησίον, ἀνάκειται ἐπὶ, ἐγγύτατα, ὀπισθεν, μεταξὺ, κ.τ.λ.*, I have already shown in my previous work that it is possible to reconstruct many other groups, for abundant proof is there given that statues of nearly contemporaneous victors were often grouped together, as were those of the same family or state, or those victorious in the same contest or whose statues were made by the same artist.² So, in general, we can only group certain statues in belts or "zones" around some building or monument which is still *in situ*. Further than this we can seldom go. Gurlitt has thus well expressed the difficulty of following these routes of Pausanias: "Jede folgende Statue ist nach der vorhergehenden orientirt zu denken. . . . Beziehungen auf früher oder später erwähnte Monumente waren überflüssig . . . wir sind . . . auf wenige Fixpunkte angewiesen und verfallen daher leicht in den Fehler, die Wegrichtungen in den Plan zu schematisch einzuzeichnen. . . . Das hin und

The numbers of victors from the catalogue of that work, showing the order of presentation of Pausanias, are retained in this paper: *e.g.* Telemachus (122). A letter after the number indicates either an adjacent "honor" statue, *e.g.* Philonides (154 a), stood next to Menalceas (154), or no statue.

¹ *E.g.* Kalkmann, *Pausanias der Perieget* (1886), p. 88.

² *E.g.* nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 were Eleans; 7-14 Spartans; 48-49 Arcadians; 6-9 and 11-14 were victors in chariot races; 30, 34, 37, 40 were pancratiasts; 26-28 had statues by Sicyonian artists, 39-40 by Athenian; 59-63 formed a family group; etc.

her auf den viel verschlungenen Wegen der Altis können wir nicht mehr kontrollieren."¹ In his description of the scattered altars (V, 14, 4-15, 12), Pausanias had not the same difficult problem to meet as in that of the victor statues. As there was so little continuity in describing the altars, he had to introduce many other monuments to make their location known; but in the case of the victor statues there was great continuity, and so such indications were superfluous.² And, in general, owing to the number and variety of monuments huddled together in the circumscribed area of the Altis, he was not compelled to describe Olympia with such definite detail as Athens or Delphi. That these victor statues, however, are described in topographical order, is attested by the internal evidence of Pausanias' words,³ and also by the finding of many of their bases in order. With this introductory warning, let us take up the routes of Pausanias in detail.

He begins his enumeration in the northeastern part of the Altis, ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας,⁴ words which have been the subject of much discussion, as to whether they are to be understood of the temple "pro persona," *i.e.* the southern side,⁵ or of the viewpoint of one facing it, *i.e.* the space (especially the northern or right hand half) before the eastern front.⁶ From the immediate whereabouts of Pausanias we get no clue; for at the end of Book V (27, 11), he says he is in the middle of the Altis, and yet in the following paragraph (27, 12) — evidently added as a transition from the account of the Altars to that of the Victors — he mentions the trophy of the Mendaeans, which

¹ *Über Pausanias* (1890), p. 393.

² The lack of continuity in describing the altars led R. Heberdey, *Eranos Vindobonensis*, 1893, pp. 39 f. ('Die Olympische Altarperiegese des Pausanias'), to conclude wrongly that Pausanias took over bodily from an earlier work his enumeration of the altars, only here and there interposing a remark of his own, as *e.g.* V, 15, 2, where he parenthetically describes the Leonidaeum.

³ *E.g.* the statue of the Acarnanian boxer (10) stood among those of Spartan victors (7-14); Eucles (52), a grandson of Diagoras, had his statue away from his family group (59-63); the two statues of Timon (17 and 105 d) stood in different parts of the Altis.

⁴ VI, 1, 3.

⁵ So Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 146; Treu, *ibid.* p. 207; Flasch, Hirschfeld, and Scherer in the articles already cited.

⁶ So Dörpfeld, *l.c.*, p. 88; Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 164, Blümner, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1904, col. 1382, and *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, II, 2, p. 531.

he says he nearly mistook for the statue of the pancratiast Anauchidas (131), which we shall see stood near the south wall of the Altis far from the centre. So Dörpfeld's contention that Pausanias approached the Heraeum from this point, and that consequently the words ἐν δεξιᾷ must refer to its eastern front, is untenable, and we are left dependent on the meaning of these words as gathered from other passages in Pausanias' work. An examination of several such passages has convinced me that they are used here of the Heraeum "pro persona."¹ Furthermore, the finding of the inscribed tablet from the base of the statue of Troilus (6), and the pedestal of that of Cynisca (7) in the ruins of the Prytaneum, not far from the western end of the Heraeum, and the base of that of Sophius (22) in the bed of the Cladeus still further west, makes it reasonable to conclude that the first few statues mentioned (VI, 1, 3-3, 7), those of the Spartan group (Cynisca-Lichas, 7-14), all of the fifth century, flanked on either side by statues of the fourth, mostly of Eleans (Symmachus-Troilus, 1-6 and Timosthenes-Eupolemus, 15-28) originally stood in the order named by Pausanias along the southern front of the temple.²

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 64 and *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, No. 4, p. 408, note 3. I here append three such passages: In V, 24, 3, in speaking of the statue of the Zeus of the Lacedaemonians, he says it stood "τοῦ ναοῦ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Zeus πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου," i.e. southeast corner of the temple near where the pedestal was found (cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.* 252 and *Olympia. Ergeb.* Textbd. I, 86); in V, 26, 2, in speaking of the offerings of Miccythus, he says they stood "παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευράν, i.e. on the northern side of the temple of Zeus, where most authorities find their foundation (cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.* 267-269 and Flasch, *op. cit.* p. 1093): in VIII, 38, 2 he says Mt. Lycosura is ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δεσποίνης," i.e. to the north of that temple.

If he had meant the eastern front of the Heraeum, he would have said ἀντικρὺ τοῦ ναοῦ (cf. V, 27, 1) or κατὰ τὸν ναόν (cf. V, 15, 3).

² See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 166 (Troilus), 160 (Cynisca), 172 (Sophius). Because of the finds in the Prytaneum, both Hirschfeld and Scherer started this ἔξοδος west of the Heraeum.

The unfinished condition of the back of the Lysippean marble head which I have ascribed (*A.J.A.* XI, 4, pp. 396 f.) to the Acarnanian boxer (10), whose name I have restored as Philandridas, and which was also found in this vicinity — between the Prytaneum and the Gymnasium (see *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. III, p. 209) — as well as its excellent preservation, show it once stood in a sheltered place against a solid background and so perhaps against one of the temple columns. From this it might be concluded that some of these statues adorned the southern steps of the Heraeum.

Leaving the Heraeum we get no further fixed point until we arrive opposite the eastern front of the temple of Zeus. For here around the foundation of the Eretrian Bull—still *in situ* 32 m. east of the northeastern corner of the temple¹—have been found the fragments of the pedestals of the statues of Narycidas (49) and Hellanicus (65) to the south, of Callias (50) and Eucles (52) beneath that of Callias, to the north, of Euthymus (56) and Charmides (58) close together to the east.² So it is clear that the series of statues from Narycidas to Charmides (49–58, VI, 6, 1–7, 1) stood in this neighborhood. Now the statues of the family of Diagoras, the Rhodian athlete (59–63), stood together, as Pausanias says (VI, 7, 1–2); one of them, that of Eucles (52), seems to have been moved from its original position later, as we see from the scholiast on Pindar's seventh Olympian ode,³ who on the authority of the lost works of Aristotle and Apollas on the Olympic victors,⁴ enumerates these statues in an order different from that adopted by Pausanias, showing that a change in their positions must have taken place sometime between the time of Aristotle and that of the periegete.⁵ The statues of Alcaenetus and his son, Hellanicus (64–65), must also have stood together. Inasmuch as the victors from Euthymus to Lycinus (56–68) are, with one exception, all

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 248; cf. V, 27, 9.

² See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 161 (Narycidas); 146 (Callias); 159 (Eucles); 144 (Euthymus); 156 (Charmides); 155 (Hellanicus). Other bases of statues which must have stood in this vicinity have also been found, far from their original positions; *i.e.* those of Athenaëus (36), 56 m. west of the Leonidaëum; of Polydamas (47), fragments 26 m. southeast of the Echo-hall; of Diagoras (59), five fragments near the Metroum; of Damagetus (62) in the Leonidaëum; of Dorieus (61) near the Victory of Paeonius; of Cyniscus (45) inside the Byzantine church; of Damoxenidas (54) near the Heraeum. See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 168 (Athenaëus), 151 (Diagoras), 152 (Damagetus), 153 (Dorieus), 149 (Cyniscus), 158 (Damoxenidas); for the sculptured base of Polydamas, see *Ol. Ergeb.* Tafelbd. III, pl. LV, 1–3.

³ p. 158, ed. Böckh.

⁴ Aristotle's work is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, V, 26; cf. *F.H.G.* (ed. Müller), II, p. 183; fragm. 264 Apollas is almost unknown; cf. *F.H.G.* IV, p. 307, fragm. 7; he probably copied from Aristotle.

⁵ This is Dittenberger's explanation (*Inscr. v. Ol.* 151), and also that of Robert (*Hermes*, XXXV, p. 195), Scherer, *op. cit.* p. 49 and Gurlitt, *op. cit.* p. 411; Purgold, however (*Inscr. v. Ol.* p. 262), has tried to reconcile the two accounts on the theory of no change.

pugilists and of the fifth century, they must have been grouped together, with the family groups of Diagoras and Alcaenetus in the centre.¹ We may also add the statues of Dromeus and Pythocles² (69-70) of nearly the same date, and we can also extend the group in the other direction. For the same scholiast says the statue of Diagoras stood near that of Lysander (35 a).³ Pausanias (VI, 3, 14 and 4, 1) says the statue of Lysander stood between those of Pyrilampes and Athenaeus (35-36). Thus we can conclude that the 36 statues (35-70, VI, 3, 13-7, 10) stood in the zone of the Eretrian Bull, extending perhaps across the Altis to the vicinity of the Echo Colonnade along its eastern boundary.

It would follow then that the intervening statues from Oebotas to Xenophon (29-34, VI, 3, 8-3, 13) stood somewhere between the Heraeum and the Eretrian Bull. It is idle to discuss the route between these two monuments more definitely.⁴

Our next fixed point is the Victory of Paeonius, whose foundation is still standing in its original position, 37 m. due east of the southeast corner of the temple of Zeus.⁵ For, of the next few statues mentioned, the base of that of Sosicrates (71) was found "somewhere" east of the temple, that of Critodamus (80) before the Southeast Building, and that of Xenocles (85),

¹ However, Kalkmann, *op. cit.* p. 90, thinks the two groups of Diagoras and Alcaenetus stood apart.

² The base of the statue of Pythocles was found between the Heraeum and the Pelopium. See *Inscr. v. Ol.* 162-163.

³ Gurlitt (*op. cit.* p. 412) assumed the possibility of the existence of two different statues of Lysander, one 35 a and the other somewhere after Charmides (58) in the family group of Diagoras; Kalkmann (*op. cit.* p. 105, note 4) explains the discrepancy between the scholiast and Pausanias on the theory that the latter borrowed from older lists; Purgold, *Aufsätze E. Curtius gewidmet*, p. 238, assumed but one.

⁴ Scherer, *op. cit.* p. 51 (cf. plan opposite p. 56) and Flasch, *loc. cit.* p. 1095, note 1, proposed a route south from the Heraeum to the west of the so-called Great Altar of Zeus, while Hirschfeld, *l.c.* p. 119, made it run to the east of it. Dörpfeld, *Topog. von Ol.* i, 88, starting east of the Heraeum, made it run first to the west along the south side of the temple and thence around the western side of the Pelopium and so across to the Eretrian Bull; Michaelis, *l.c.* p. 164, with the same starting point, had it bear first to the east parallel with the Treasury Terrace, and thence south.

⁵ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 259 and *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. 2, p. 153-155, etc.; cf. V, 26, 1.

4 m. to the northeast of the Victory base, presumably near its original position.¹ Pausanias groups the three Arcadian athletes, Euthymenes-Critodamus (78-80, VI, 8, 5), then, after naming four statues of victors from other states, he mentions two more Arcadians together, Xenocles and Alcetus (85-86, VI, 9, 2), and continues by saying that the statues of the Argives Aristeus and Chimon (87-88, VI, 9, 3) stood together. One more statue, that of Philles of Elis (89), he names before he comes to the chariot of Gelo. Thus we may conclude that the series of statues denoted by the numbers 71-89 (VI, 8, 1-9, 4) stood to the south of the Eretrian Bull in the parallel zone of the Victory.

We next come to the series of statues mentioned between the chariots of Gelo and Cleosthenes (90-99). The position of the bases of these chariots is practically certain. In describing the statues of Zeus in Book V, Pausanias says he is proceeding north from the Council House (23, 1), and first mentions a statue of Zeus set up by the Plataeans; in describing the Victor statues he says the chariot of Cleosthenes stands behind this statue of Zeus (VI, 10, 6). After describing the Plataean Zeus, he mentions a bronze inscribed tablet as standing in front of it (V, 23, 4), and then says the statue of the Zeus of the Megarians stands near the chariot of Cleosthenes (23, 5). As he is proceeding north, this Megarian Zeus must have stood north of the Plataean one; thus in one group we have the two statues of Zeus and the chariot of Cleosthenes. Immediately to the north he next mentions the chariot of the Syracusan tyrant Gelo (90), which he says is near the statue of the Zeus of the Hyblaeans (23, 6). Now in coming south, in the athlete periegesis, he names eight statues between these chariots. Dörpfeld² has identified the Plataean Zeus with a large pedestal to

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 157 (So(si)crates; for restoration of the name, see Hyde, p. 37); 167 (Critodamus); 164 (Xenocles). The plate from the pedestal of the statue of the unknown Arcadian victor (79) was found far away from this point, in the Palaestra; I have shown that the statue of Philip (79 a), mentioned by Pausanias as the work of Myron (cf. VI, 8, 5), was really that of this older unknown Arcadian, and was later used for Philip, who won Ol. 119-125; see *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 174. Hyde, *op. cit.* pp. 39-41.

² See *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. I, p. 86, and cf. II, p. 78. A slit in the lower step of the base of the Zeus may have contained the tablet mentioned V, 23, 4. Three

the northwest of that of the victor Telemachus (122) *in situ* near the South Altis wall,¹ a position in harmony with the description of the statues of Zeus; just behind it he has identified two large foundations near together as those of the two chariots. So the eight intervening statues stood here. Of the statues between the chariot of Cleosthenes and the base of the statue of Telemachus, the base of that of Tellon (102) was found in the East Byzantine wall near the South Altis wall; that of Aristion (115) nearly embedded in the same wall; that of Acestorides (119), whose name I have inserted in the lacuna in the text of Pausanias (VI, 13, 7),² just northeast of the base of Telemachus.³ Thus the series of statues from that of Gelo to

of the four inscribed blocks of Gelo's chariot base were found in the Palaestra, cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 143.

For Dörpfeld's identification of the Council House with the tripartite building south of the temple of Zeus just outside the South Altis wall, see *Ausgrab. zu Ol.* IV (1878-1879), pp. 40-46, and *Ol. Ergeb.* Text bd. II, pp. 76-79. Others, on the basis of a passage in Xenophon (*Hell.* VII, 4, 31), wrongly place it near the Prytaneum in the northwestern part of the Altis. Cf. Frazer, *Comm.* to Paus. III, p. 636 f.; and Dörpfeld, *l.c.* p. 78 f.

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 177. It stands on the south edge of the South Terrace wall between its gateway and the later East Byzantine wall of the Altis.

² *Op. cit.* p. 49 f. where I assume that the passage VI, 13, 8 is a digression, and that the name of a victor has dropped out at the end of 13, 7. I have inserted the name of Acestorides of Alexandria Troas, placing his statue next to that of Agemachus (118) of similar date and the only other Asiatic in this part of the Altis. Förster, *Die Sieger in den olympischen Spielen*, No. 501, dates Acestorides wrongly in the second century B.C. (on the basis of Furtwängler, *Ath. Mitt.* 1880, p. 30, n. 2. end), though the inscription from the base is referred by Dittenberger to the end of the third; Agemachus won Ol. 147; I have therefore dated Acestorides tentatively between Ol. 142 and Ol. 144.

³ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 147, 148 (Tellon, inscription renewed in the first century B.C.); 165 (Aristion); 184 (Acestorides).

Röhl (*I. G. A.* No. 355 and Add. p. 182) referred an inscription on some marble fragments found in 1879 (cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 161), one found near the Heraeum, another east of the temple of Zeus, to the victor Agiadas (103); Dittenberger (cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 105) and others have rightly rejected it. Similarly the inscribed base of the statue of Areus (105 b), son of Acrotatus, King of Sparta, found in the Heraeum (see *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 308), belongs rather to the second statue of Areus (148 a) dedicated by Ptolemy Philadelphus; cf. Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 44-45. I have also referred the second inscription of the artist Pythagoras (*Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 145), found in the Leonidaeum, to the statue of Astylus (110), because of its similarity to that on the base of the statue of Euthymus (56), likewise by Pythagoras (pp. 47-48 = *Inscr. v. Olymp.* No. 144).

that of Agathimus (90–121 a, VI, 9, 4–13, 11) can be grouped in the zone of the Chariots.

As the fragment of the base of the statue of the Athenian pancratiast Aristophon (123) was found near the base of Telemachus, but to the east of it, and likewise that which supported the equestrian monument of Xenombrotus and Xenodocus (133–134) still further to the east near the Echo Colonnade,¹ we can conclude that the twenty-one statues from Aristophon to Procles (123–138, VI, 13, 11–14, 13), mostly of the fifth century, stood near the South Altis wall to the east and not to the west of the base of Telemachus, where all other investigators have wrongly placed them,² and thus form a group which we can call the zone of Telemachus. So we see that the long list of statues from Pyrilampes to Procles (35–138), nearly two-thirds of all those mentioned in the first *ἔφοδος* of Pausanias, stood in the space to the east and southeast of the temple of Zeus, grouped around the parallel zones of the Bull, Victory, Chariots, and Telemachus.

On the other hand, the statues beginning with that of Aeschines (139) and extending to that of Philonides (154 a) (VI, 14, 13–16, 5) must have stood to the west of the base of Telemachus and along the South Terrace wall some 20 m. south of the temple of Zeus, where many of the following pedestals were found in the order named by Pausanias; that of Aeschines (139) was found near the Council House, that of Archippus (140) nearly between the Terrace wall and the north wing of the Council House; that of Epitherses (147), opposite the sixth column of the temple from the west, some eleven paces from the Terrace wall, and the fragment of the base of the honor statue of Antigonus (147 f.) very near it; the base of the statue of Caper (150) was found further on in the West Byzantine wall (which begins at the southwest corner of the temple); and lastly, the base of the “honor” statue of Philonides (154 a), Alexander’s courier, was found in the southwest

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 169 (Aristophon), 154 (Xenombrotus and Xenodocus, following Robert’s ascription, *Hermes*, XXXV, p. 179 f.; a second epigram referring to Xenombrotus alone [*Inscr. v. Olymp.* No. 170] must belong to a second monument not mentioned by Pausanias; cf. Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 53).

² *E.g.* Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 140 (quoted by Dittenberger); Frazer, *op. cit.* IV, p. 43, etc.

corner of the Altis at the extreme west end of the South Terrace wall, almost, if not exactly, in its original position.¹ Thus Pausanias, after coming south to the statue of Telemachus, first goes eastward as far as the statue of Procles, then returns, repassing the two chariots on the way without remark, and then continues westward to the southwestern corner of the Altis. All these statues west of Telemachus are of the fifth and fourth centuries, with the exception of one, that of Eutelidas (148), who won in Ol. 38. This is the oldest statue in the Altis, despite Pausanias' statement,² and it doubtless originally stood in the area occupied toward the middle of the fifth century by the temple of Zeus, being then transferred to its new position south of the temple.

After the statue of Philonides, there are still nineteen statues to dispose of in this first *ἔφοδος*, those from Brimias to Glaucon (155–169, VI, 16, 5–16, 9). Of these statues, the base of that of Leonidas of Naxos (155 a), the founder of the great building just outside the southwestern corner of the Altis named after him, was found in a Byzantine wall before the eastern end of the north front of that building, while that of Seleadas (159) was found within the ruins of the same building; the base which supported the monuments of Polypithes and Calliteles (160–161) — which, owing to the early dates of their victories, Ols. 66(?)–70(?), must have stood originally in the area later occupied by the temple of Zeus, like that of the above-mentioned Eutelidas — a little to the south of the Byzantine church, between the bases of the statues of Leonidas and Glaucon; two fragments of the base of the statue of Dinosthenes (163), one east of the apse of the church, the other in the ruins of the Palaestra further north; and lastly, that of Glaucon, built into

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 176 (Aeschines); 173 (Archippus); 186 (Epitherses); 304 (Antigonus [a fragment of the base of the statue of Demetrius (147 e) was also found, the exact location not being recorded, cf. No. 305]); 276 (Philonides); a second mutilated copy of this inscription was found near by built into a late wall north of the Byzantine church; see No. 277); Pausanias (VI, 15, 10) mentions two statues of Caper; Furtwängler, *Bronzen von Ol.* Textb. IV, pp. 11–12, No. 3, 3 a, Taf. III, has assigned to one of them a bronze foot found near the South Altis wall.

² VI, 18, 7. He gives this honor to Praxidamas and Rhexibius (187–188), who won in Ols. 59 and 61 respectively. The statue of Oebotas (29), who won in Ol. 6, was, however, set up in Ol. 80 by the Achaeans (VI, 3, 8).

late walls northwest of the church.¹ As the statue of Philonides stood at the extreme western end of the South Altis wall, and as most of these fragments were found in the vicinity of the Leonidaem, it would be natural to conclude that the majority of these later statues stood in the spaces just outside the West Altis wall. But at the end of the first *ἔφοδος* (VI, 17, 1), Pausanias says he has so far named statues "within the Altis," and so most investigators have placed these nineteen statues either west of the temple of Zeus or in the space at the southwestern corner of the Altis. We shall see in the second part of this paper, that many other victor statues, not mentioned by Pausanias, stood just outside the West Altis wall. And it is doubtful whether these words of Pausanias, "ἐν τῇ Ἀλτει" (VI, 17, 1), should be taken thus literally, especially on any theory of his use of earlier accounts in the final compiling of his own. If they did stand "within" the Altis, they could scarcely have stood to the west or southwest of the temple of Zeus, for the second *ἔφοδος*, as we shall see, passed there. A better alternative would be the following: In describing the Leonidaem (V, 15, 2), Pausanias says this building stood "outside the sacred enclosure at the processional entrance into the Altis . . . separated from this entrance by a street; for what the Athenians call lanes, the Eleans name streets."² Now Dörpfeld has shown that inside the West Altis wall and parallel to it—just south of the base of Philonides' statue—is a line of bases ending in the later South wall of the Altis, so that this

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 294 (Leonidas, cf. *Ath. Mitt.* XIII, p. 322, note 1, Treu); 183 (Seleadas; this is my own ascription; cf. *op. cit.* p. 58; Dittenberger wrongly restored the name as Σέλευκος); 632 (Polypithes and Calliteles); 171 (Dinosthenes); 178 (Glaucō; his monument was a little bronze chariot, not a statue, thus imitating earlier sixth century victor dedications, like that of Cynisca (7); No. 296 is another inscription from a statue of Glaucō dedicated by Ptolemy).

The pedestal of the statue of Paeanius (167) was found back of the south side of the Echo Colonnade, far removed (cf. No. 179); Pausanias again mentions Paeanius in VI, 15, 10. Another pedestal, found south of the west end of the Byzantine church (No. 632), has been referred by Purgold to the statue of Lysippus (162), cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 85 f. Blümner, *op. cit.* Vol. II, p. 615, and others have rejected the ascription.

² διέστηκε δὲ ἀγυιὰν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσόδου τῆς πομπικῆς. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων καλουμένους στενωποὺς ἀγυῖαις ὀνομάζουσιν οἱ Ἕλαιοι.

West wall and row of pedestals form a cul de sac.¹ It is clear that no such row of statues would have been placed leading up to a dead wall; therefore these statues must have stood there before the wall was built, and must once have formed the eastern boundary of a wide street skirting the eastern side of the Leonidaem, which was twice as wide as later, when the wall cut off half its breadth and made it a lane, though the older name "street" was retained. The later Roman enlargement of the Altis is well known. The long row of pedestals to the south of and parallel with those already discussed as standing along the line of the South Terrace wall, westward of the base of Telemachus, once formed the southern boundary of the "Processional Way," which ran from the Leonidaem to where it debouched into the Altis at its southeastern corner. Originally outside the Altis, they were later, together with the road itself, included in it. The pedestals, then, in the above-mentioned cul de sac, and also the fourteen (among them that of Metellus Macedonicus) that adorned the south side of the Processional Way, may be the remains of some of these last statues mentioned by Pausanias.

We next come to the second ἔφοδος introduced by these words: "εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνιδαίου πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν τὸν μέγαν ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελήσειας, τοσάδε ἐστὶ σοι τῶν ἀνηκόντων ἐς μνήμην" (VI, 17, 1). The Leonidaem, the site of which was still in dispute till after the close of the excavations, was finally identified by Treu,² with the so-called "Südwestbau," as had been

¹ See *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, pp. 327-336 ('Die Altis Mauer in Olympia'). On the west of the Altis are the ruins of two parallel walls, the inner Greek, the outer Roman; the original South wall of the Altis ran along the line of the South Terrace wall, the later Roman wall (dating from Nero's time) to the south of it. Thus in Pausanias' day, the πομπικὴ ἔσοδος was opposite the Leonidaem. In two other passages, however, it is in the southeast corner of the Altis (V, 15, 7; VI, 20, 7). Heberdey (*op. cit.* pp. 34-47) explains this discrepancy by saying that Pausanias, in speaking of the southwestern entrance, is speaking from his own observation after the Roman extension, and in the other passages is copying from other writers who wrote before that extension. Dörpfeld's explanation, however, is better: in the Roman extension a gate was built in the southwest corner of the new west wall, superseding the older southeast entrance. Processions still passed along the same way, but were now inside the Altis, the great gateway of Nero at the southeast corner being given up after his death. Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* III, pp. 570-572.

² *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, pp. 317-326 ('Die Bauinschrift des Leonidäums zu Olym-

already assumed by many investigators.¹ The site of the Great Altar, however, is still undetermined. The elliptical depression to the east of the Pelopium, whose dimensions (125 feet in circumference) agree with the figures of Pausanias (V, 13, 9) for the "prothusis," or lowest stage of the Altar, identified with it by most scholars,² must now be given up, since the recent excavations of Dörpfeld, which prove it to be the remains of two prehistoric dwelling houses with apse-like ends.³ Nor can the remains of walls lying between the Heraeum and the Pelopium, formerly supposed to be those of an altar,⁴ any longer be referred to the Great Altar since Dörpfeld's discoveries. So we are dependent on the words of Pausanias alone for its location, who says it stood "equidistant from the Pelopium and the sanctuary of Hera, but in front of both,"⁵ therefore, somewhat northwest of

pia'); and cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 651 and *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. II, pp. 83-93 (Borrmann).

¹ *E.g.* K. Lange, *Haus und Halle*, p. 331; Hirschfeld, *l.c.* p. 112 and p. 121; Flasch, *l.c.* pp. 1095 and 1104 K; others placed it elsewhere, *e.g.* Curtius-Adler, *Ol. und Umgegend*, pp. 23 sq.; Scherer, *op. cit.*, p. 55 f. (and plan) identified it with the Southeast Building, where he had this second *ἔφοδος* start (so also Flasch).

² Thus Curtius, *Altäre v. Ol.* p. 4 (= *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, II, pp. 42 f.; Adler, *Arch. Anz.* 1894, p. 85; *ibid.* 1895, pp. 108 f. (cf. his reconstruction in *Ol. Ergeb.* Tafelbd. II, Pl. CXXXII and Textbd. II, pp. 210 f.); Curtius-Adler, *op. cit.* p. 35; Flasch, *l.c.* p. 1067 (cf. *Funde v. Ol.* pp. 238-239); Bötticher, *Olympia*², p. 190 f. (Plan); Furtwängler, *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. IV (Bronzen), p. 4; Hirschfeld, *l.c.* p. 119 (= plan); Scherer, *op. cit.* p. 56 (with plan); Trendelenburg, *Das Grosse Altar des Zeus in Olympia*, pp. 17 f.; Dörpfeld, *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. II, p. 162 (cf. I, p. 82, where he admits the possibility that it may have stood further northwest, nearer the Heraeum).

³ See *Ath. Mitt.* XXXIII (1908), pp. 185 sq., 'Olympia in prähistorischer Zeit'; cf. "Year's Work in Classical Studies," 1908, p. 12.

⁴ Thus Puchstein, *Arch. Anz.* 1893, p. 22; *ibid.* 1895, p. 107; *Jb. Arch. I.* 1896, p. 53 f. (with "oblong" reconstruction by Koldewey, p. 76); *Woch. für. Class. Phil.* 1895, p. 475; and Wernicke, *Jb. Arch. I.* 1894, pp. 93 f. This view was already refuted by Adler, *Arch. Anz.* 1895, p. 108, and Dörpfeld, *Bauwerke v. Ol.* Textbd. II, pp. 162 f. Dörpfeld now refers these remains also to prehistoric houses (cf. note 3 above).

⁵ V, 13, 8. Exact site of Pelopium is given in V, 13, 1. Wernicke (*l.c.* pp. 94 f.) placed the older altar of Zeus (who was at first worshipped in common with Hera) between the Heraeum and Pelopeum, as Puchstein had done. Later, however, after the building of the temple of Zeus, and the Pelopeum, the altar was moved east of both and stood somewhere northwest of the elliptical depression where Pausanias saw it. He explained the lack of remains on the theory

the elliptical depression nearer the centre of the Altis. Our problem, then, is to find Pausanias' route between these two points, and here again, as at the beginning of the first ἔφοδος, we must rightly interpret the words ἐν δεξιᾷ. Michaelis, in his paper on the use of ἐν δεξιᾷ and ἐν ἀριστερᾷ in Pausanias' work, made these words refer to the southern side of the Processional Way, *i.e.* to the side at the right of Pausanias, who was facing east after arriving at the Leonidaeum.¹ Thus the statues already mentioned along the South Terrace wall (Aeschines, 139 — Philonides, 154 a) would be on his left side. On this interpretation both Hirschfeld and Dörpfeld had the second ἔφοδος follow the Processional Way eastward parallel to the first — thus including the line of pedestals, which we have referred to the end of the second — and then, near the Council House, curve northward in front of the temple of Zeus, virtually a repetition of the first ἔφοδος. On this theory Dörpfeld² wrongly explained the first route as containing statues ἐν τῇ "Ἀλτει, while the second was outside the older Altis, and so, though equally long, contained fewer statues. But against this interpretation, it must be urged that the periegete is describing the Altis of his day, when the road in question was included within its boundaries, and that the Great Altar and the two last statues mentioned (187, 188) as standing near the pillar of Oenomaus were always inside.³ And neither this Processional Way nor the space before the eastern front of the temple of Zeus were localities for "unimportant mixed statues."⁴ Furthermore, if he had merely retraced his steps after arriving at the Leonidaeum, — and he says nothing of

that the Christians would completely destroy this, the chief pagan altar. Dörpfeld (*Bauw. v. Ol.* Textbd. II, p. 163) suggested that it may have stood south of the Exedra of Herodes Atticus, where its site must certainly be sought.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 164.

² See *Ath. Mitt.* 1888, p. 335 f. (and cf. *Ergeb.* Textbd. I, 88). He says: "Zu unserer Verwunderung sehen wir, dass der zweite Teil die ununterbrochene Fortsetzung des ersten Teiles ist, also in Wirklichkeit nur eine Ephodos, nur ein einziger Rundgang."

³ This pillar stood between the Great Altar and the temple of Zeus. Cf. V, 20, 6.

⁴ Ἀνδριάντας δὲ ἀναμεμυγμένους οὐκ ἐπιφάνεσιν ἄγαν ἀναθήμασιν (VI, 17, 7); again in VI, 18, 2, he says he discovered "by searching" (ἀνευρών) the statue of Anaximenes.

returning, — he would not have begun a new route,¹ but would have said something like this: *εἰ δὲ ὀπίσω ἀναστρέψας ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεωνοδαίου πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν αὐθις ἀφικέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ θελήσειας* (by analogy with the words in V, 15, 1). So it is simpler to conclude that the new route wound around the western and northern sides of the temple of Zeus over the temple terrace.² As no building is mentioned on the way, and as the north side of the temple would have been called *ἀριστερὰ πλευρά* (in accordance with the usage discussed above in connection with the Heraeum), and as the Pelopium faces southwest, the words *ἐν δεξιᾷ* can refer only to the right hand of Pausanias, viz. the right side of the road followed. If we assume that the words originally stood after *τοσάδε ἐστὶ σοι* and were transferred by a later copyist, the difficulty is resolved.³

Of the nineteen victor statues in this second route (170–188, VI, 17, 1–18, 7), no bases have been found.⁴ But of the three “honor” statues included, one base, that of the rhetorician Gorgias (184 a), was recovered 10 m. northeast of the temple of Zeus, and so not far from its original position.⁵ For Pausanias mentions only three more statues, before he comes to the

¹ Similarly on arriving at the statue of Telemachus he moved first to the east and returned, passing the chariot of Cleosthenes, before proceeding west, without mentioning the fact.

² The Terrace wall can still be traced before the western front of the temple and also to the northeast of it. Cf. Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 36, “So umgab denn vermutlich einst den ganzen Tempel eine statuenbekrönte Terrasse.” Hitzig-Blümner, *op. cit.* II, 2, p. 619, suppose such a road to the west and north the temple, but would interpret it *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ*.

³ Cf. Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 70; Blümner (cf. note 2) rejects this textual change and follows Hirschfeld and Dörpfeld. I proposed this change by analogy with the text of V, 24, 1; 21, 2 and other passages.

⁴ The bronze tablet of Democrates (170), found south of the southwest corner of the temple of Zeus, did not belong to his victor statue, but stood inside the temple. See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 39. Also the archaic helmeted marble head and arm with the remains of a shield attached (see *Ergeb. Tafelbd.* III, pl. VI, 1–4, 5–6), the head being found west of the temple and the arm before the gate of the Pelopium, wrongly ascribed by R. Förster (*Das Porträt in der Gr. Plastik*, p. 22, note 5) to Damareteus (94), and by Treu (*Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 48 f., and *Bildw. v. Ol.* III, p. 34, note 2) and Overbeck (*Gesch. der gr. Pl.* I, p. 198 f., and *ibid.* p. 178) to Eperastus (183), I have referred to an older hoplite, Phricias of Pelinna (Förster, *Sieger v. Ol.* Nos. 151, 155). Eperastus won after Ol. 111. See Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 43.

⁵ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 293.

last two in this ἔφοδος, which stood in this vicinity. The parts of the Altis to the west and north of the temple were unimportant till the time of Alexander the Great, and were, therefore, remarkably free of monuments. In the whole description of Pausanias, we know of only three altars (those of Aphrodite, the Seasons, and the Nymphs) and a wild olive tree (the "Olive of the Beautiful Crown") to the west of the temple (V, 15, 3), and only of the votive offerings of a certain Micythus to the north of it (V, 26, 2).¹ As the statue of Gorgias stood among the "unimportant mixed statues" already mentioned (184-186), these must have stood somewhere north of the temple near its eastern end. Finally, the two ancient wooden statues of Praxidamas and Rhexibius (187-188, VI, 18, 7) are mentioned by themselves as near the column of Oenomaus, which Pausanias elsewhere² says stood near the Great Altar of Zeus on the left of a road running south from it to the temple. Pausanias, after describing these "mixed" statues, may have finally left the road thus far followed and introduced these last two statues as quite distinct from the second ἔφοδος.³ But he does not seem to have gone far from his route, for immediately after ending his account of the victor statues, he begins his account of the "Treasures," which lay beyond the Great Altar farther north.

Thus Pausanias ends his second route somewhere short of the Great Altar, and it appears, after all, to be only a continuation of the first, forming with it one unbroken "Rundgang,"

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 267-269. Supposed foundation found thirty feet north of the temple. Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* III, pp. 646 sq.

² V, 20, 6. A large foundation, between the pedestal of Dropion, King of the Paeonians (*Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 303), and the pedestal of the Eretrian Bull, may have formed part of the house of Oenomaus (cf. Curtius u. Adler, *op. cit.* p. 40; Flasch, *l.c.* p. 1074); Wernicke (*Jb. Arch. I.* IX, 1894, p. 93), however, refers it to the oval depression called the Great Altar. Dörpfeld (*Ol. Textbd.* I, 77) is opposed to this view and places it further north, near the Metroum.

³ This is Kalkmann's theory (*op. cit.* p. 89), who calls this section (VI, 18, 7) the "letzten Trumpf," an addition having no connection with the second ἔφοδος. He compares it with V, 24, 9, where Pausanias, after ending the periegesis of the Altars, adds one more, that of "Zeus Horkios," standing in the Council House, though he had already passed this point twice without mentioning it. He also compares V, 27, 12 (the transition to the account of the victor statues); Gurlitt, however (*op. cit.* p. 392), explains this last section as due to a later revision of Pausanias' work.

though in a different sense of the word from that intended by Dörpfeld.

From a study of these two routes, and a comparison of the dates of the victorious athletes,¹ we can draw the following conclusions as to the positions of the victor statues mentioned by Pausanias at Olympia:

1. The twenty-eight oldest statues—exclusive of the five already mentioned as having been removed from the area of the later temple of Zeus²—dating from Ol. 58 (= 548 B.C., Pythocritus, 128 b) to Ol. 76 (= 476 B.C., Theognetus, 83), *i.e.* down to the approximate date of the founding of the temple,³ stood in the space between the eastern front of the temple and the Echo Colonnade, or to the south of it near the South Altis wall. Only one statue (that of Protolaus, 48) stood as far north as the Eretrian Bull. Thus the southeastern part of the Altis was the oldest part dedicated to victor statues.

2. After this space was mostly filled, the next statues, those dating from Ol. 77 (= 472 B.C., Callias, 50) to Ol. 93 (= 408 B.C., Eubotas, 75), *i.e.* from about the time of the foundation of the temple to near the date of the battle of Aegospotami, fifty-one in number, stood between the Heraeum and the Victory of Paenionius; only one stood as far south as the Altis wall, while seven stood around the Chariots, ten around the Victory, twenty around the Bull, and the rest further north (including 176, 185 of the second *ἐφοδος*, which stood north of the eastern end of the temple). Diagoras and his family (59–63) had their statues near the older famous wrestler Euthymus (56); Alcaenetus and his sons (64–66), besides many other pugilists, had theirs near the Diagorids; Tellon (102) had his near that of his compatriot Epicratus (101); later Achaeans had theirs near that of their countryman Oebotas (29), and Spartans near that of Chionis (111); some, as the three victors from Heraea (176, 177, 32), stood far apart only apparently, for the last one

¹ See the catalogue in my *De Olymp. Stat.* (pp. 3 f.) for dates, and cf. pp. 72 f. for results. The summaries are made only on the basis of the one hundred and fifty-three monuments which can be exactly or approximately dated.

² Eutelides (148), Praxidamas (187), Rhexibius (188), Polypithes and Caliteles (160–161).

³ On the date of the temple of Zeus (468 B.C.–456 (?) B.C.), cf. Dörpfeld, *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. 2, pp. 19 ff.

had his statue near the Bull, and so not far from the other two, though these are named in the second *ἔφοδος*.

3. From near the date of the battle of Aegospotami, down to the time of Alexander the Great, *i.e.* Ols. 94–106 (404–356 B.C.), thirty-six statues filled in the intervals left among these older statues; fifteen stood near the Heraeum, five between it and the Bull, seven around the Bull, five around the Victory, one near the Chariots, and three along the South Altis wall. Euthymenes and Critodamus (70, 80) had their monuments near that of their older countryman (79), whose statue was made by Myron; the Ephesians Pyrilampes and Athenaëus (35, 36) had their statues beside that of their benefactor Lysander (35 a).

4. After Alexander's time, in consequence of the recent building of the Philippeum, Leonidaëum, and Theecoleum to the west of the Altis, the western side of the temple of Zeus (and, to a lesser degree, the northern) became important, and henceforth statues surrounded the temple on all sides. Of the thirty-three statues of this epoch, nine stood to the west of the temple, four to the north, seven to the south, while the rest stood either to the east or near the Heraeum. We shall see also that many later statues, known to us from inscriptions only, stood outside the Altis, to the west and northwest.

II. STATUES NOT MENTIONED BY PAUSANIAS. — Having established these data, it is not difficult, from the positions of the many inscribed fragmentary bases found at Olympia and referred to victor statues not mentioned by Pausanias, from the approximate dates of the victories as gained from the age of the inscriptions, and by again employing the system of groups already mentioned, to state quite definitely where many of these statues stood. Pausanias, who mentions 188 victors with 192 monuments in his two *ἔφοδοι*, expressly states that he enumerates only those "who had some title to fame or whose statues were better made."¹ The reasons for his selection and the fact that he mentions the statue of no athlete certainly later than the middle of the second century B.C.,² though we know

¹ VI, 1, 2, and cf. his words in VI, 17, 1.

² The three latest statues of victors whose dates are fixed are those of Clitomachus (146), who won in Ols. 141–142, Caper (150), who won in Ol. 142, and Acestorides (119), who won in Ols. 142–144 (= 212–204 B.C.): still later statues,

from inscriptions that statues were set up far into the third century A.D. at least,¹ have been the subject of much discussion but do not concern us here.² The words of Pliny, "Olympiae, ubi omnium, qui vicissent, statuas dicari mos erat" (34.16), refer, of course, only to the right and not to the actual fact, for many victors would have no statues, as it was necessary for them or their relatives or city-states to meet the expenses of their erection.³ No more is the rest of his statement, viz. that those victors who were victorious three times had the right to erect portrait statues in their honor, to be taken literally, for we have at least one exception.⁴ Besides we know that portrait statues were practically unknown before the fourth century. Most of the victor statues were mere types — those of Hermes and Heracles being most common — with-

whose dates cannot be exactly determined, are those of Sodamus (42), who won ? Ols. 142-145, Amyntas (40) in ? Ol. 146, Timon (152) in ? Ols. 146-147, and Lysippus (162) in ? Ols. 149-157 (= 184-152 B.C.).

Of the first century A.D. Pausanias mentions three victors, though without statues: Artemidorus (125 a), who won in Ol. 212, Polites (111 b) in Ol. 212, and Hermogenes (111 a) in Ols. 215-217 (= 81-89 A.D.); see Hyde, *op. cit.* catalogue, pp. 3 f.

¹ The last known victor statue at Olympia is that of Valerius Eclectus of Sinope, four times victor as herald, winning in Ols. 256, 258, 259, 260 (cf. Förster, Nos. 741-744). Philumenus of Philadelphia in Lydia, victor in wrestling (?), in Ol. 288 (?) = 373 A.D. (cf. Förster, No. 750), had a statue, as we learn from the conclusion of an epigram preserved by Panodorus in Cramer's *Anecd.* II, p. 155, 17 f.; cf. *Inscr. Metr. Gr.* ed. Preger, No. 133). It may not have been in Olympia.

² On his use of older lists of victors cf.: P. Hirt, *De fontibus Pausaniae in Eliacis* (Greifswald, 1878), pp. 12 f.; Mie, *Quaestiones Agonisticae* (Rostock, 1888), pp. 17 f.; Kalkmann, *op. cit.* pp. 103 f.; Gurlitt, *op. cit.* p. 426, note 43; Robert, *Hermes*, XXIII, p. 444; Hirschfeld, *l.c.* pp. 105 and 111; J. Jüthner, *Philostratos über Gymnastik* (1909), pp. 60-74 and 109 f.; E. Norman Gardner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals* (1910), p. 50. Pausanias frequently mentions such sources himself, e.g. III, 21, 1, V, 21, 9, VI, 2, 3. Hirschfeld (*l.c.* pp. 105 and 113) and others have doubted whether Pausanias had been in Olympia at all.

³ Cf. Dittenberger and Purgold, *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. (*Inscr.*) V, p. 235. Pausanias in VI, 1, 1, distinctly states there are not statues of all victors, adding that some of the most distinguished had none.

⁴ The epigram on the base of the monument of Xenombrotus (133) stated it was a portrait of the victor (cf. VI, 14, 12), though we have no record that he was victor more than twice (see *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 154). The second monument will be mentioned later.

On the basis of three or more victories several victors should have had portrait statues; see e.g. Förster, Nos. 60, 86, 144, 351, 358, 495, 603, 741, 815.

out individualized features, simply representing the various contests by position or some characteristic, *e.g.* the helmet and shield for "hoplite" victors.

Five of these inscriptions have been referred to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.¹ Of these the inscribed base of Pantares was found near the South Altis wall, and the statue must have originally stood east of the temple of Zeus, near the chariot of Gelo (90), for these two were the only victors from Gela and won in the same contest and at nearly the same date.² The statues of Phricias of Pelinna and Phanas of Pellene, both representing victors in the heavy-armed race, to which I have ascribed two archaic marble heads, the former found west of the temple of Zeus and the latter to the south of it, must originally have stood in the area of the later temple and then have been removed.³ That of an unknown Aeginetan pancratiast, Epitimiadas,⁴ the two fragments of whose base were found, one near the Heraeum and the other to the east of the temple of Zeus, should have stood near the statues of the only other pancratiasts of a similar age, either by those of Dorieus (61 = Ol. 87-89) and Damagetus (62 = Ol. 82-83) in the zone of the Bull, or by that of Timasitheus (82 = Ol. (?) 65-67) in the zone of the Victory. Lastly, a second inscribed base of Xenombrotus (133), found near the Council House outside the South Altis

¹ For dates, places of finding, and contests, references are constantly made by number to Dittenberger, *Inscr. v. Ol.*; the number of each victor is given also from Förster's lists, which, though incomplete, are the latest that have yet appeared (Zwickau Program, 1891-1892). Where the exact dates are known they are cited from Förster.

² See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 142 (Pantares, son of Menecrates of Gela). Förster, No. 149 = Ol. 67 (?). Gelo won Ol. 73.

³ Phricias won twice; cf. Förster, Nos. 151 and 155 = Ols. 68, 69. My ascription of this head has already been noted. Phanas was three times victor on the same day (*τριαστής*) in the *στάδιον*, *διὰυλον*, and as *ὀπλίτης* in Ol. 67; cf. Förster, Nos. 144-146. For this head see *Ol. Ergeb.* Tafelbd. III, pl. VI, 9-10. As it is more archaic than the former, I have ascribed it to the elder victor. Cf. Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 43.

⁴ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 150, . . . *αδας*. Röhl, *I. G. A.* 355 and add. p. 182, wrongly ascribed this mutilated inscription to Agiades (103), who won Ol. 72-74 (?) (Förster, No. 519, dated it Ol. 161 (?), following Röhl). Robert, *Hermes*, XXXV, p. 181, identified it with Epitimiadas of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, who won Ol. 78 in the *παγκράτιον*. Both Dittenberger and Löwy, *Inscr. d. gr. Bild.* No. 416, refer it to the first half or the middle of the fifth century.

wall, doubtless once stood near the first along this wall to the east of the base of Telemachus.¹

No inscribed fragments of bases dating from the fourth century have been found.

Beginning with the third century, we shall see that most of the recovered bases were found either in the western part of the Altis, in the neighborhood of the Philippeum, Theecoleum, and Leonidaem, on both sides of the Altis wall, or still farther west and northwest, especially in or near the Palaestra and the Prytaneum. We have already seen that most of the statues named by Pausanias dating from Alexander's time stood to the west (and north) of the temple of Zeus. As Pausanias only enumerates statues ἐν δεξιᾷ of his route around the temple to the Great Altar, these statues farther west and northwest are omitted from his account. Of the four bases of statues referred to the third century, all belong to Elean victors; three were found west and northwest of the Prytaneum and beyond, showing that these statues once stood in the vicinity of this building, and the fourth was found farther south, by the Palaestra, where it probably stood.²

Of the four statues referred with certainty to the second century, all but one were found to the west of the Altis, ranging from the Philippeum northwest of the temple of Zeus to the Leonidaem; two of them were found outside the West Altis wall, between the Leonidaem and Byzantine church.³

Of the seven bases referred to the second and first centuries B.C., three were found in or near the Byzantine church, show-

¹ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 170; for the second monument to Xenombrotus mentioned by Pausanias, cf. Hyde, *op. cit.* p. 53.

² See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 175 (Nicarchus, son of Physias, πάλην, Förster, No. 375; base found in a late wall west of the Prytaneum. Förster's proposed dating, *Ol.* 110 = 340 B.C., is wrong); 180 (unknown victor, son of Taurinus; base found at the southeast corner of the Palaestra); 181 (unknown victor, son of phinus; base found in the "Nordwestgraben"); 182 (Thersonides, son of Paeanodorus, κέλητι πωλικῷ; base found northwest of the Prytaneum).

³ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 185 (D gonus, twice victor in πύξ; base found outside the apse of the Byzantine church, west of the West Altis wall); 187 (unknown boy victor, πάλην, or παγκράτιον; base found in the East Byzantine wall); 188 (unknown victor, συνορίδι τελεία, ἄρματι τελείω; base found south of Philippeum); 189 (unknown victor, son of Aegyptus of Elis, πάλην; base found northeast of the Leonidaem).

ing that statues may have stood in the Greek building later converted into the church;¹ two more were found near the southwest corner of the Altis, and may therefore once have stood near the statue of Philonides mentioned by Pausanias in that vicinity; two others stood farther away, one inside the Prytaneum, the other northeast of the temple of Zeus.²

The positions of the twenty-four bases (belonging to monuments of twenty-two victors) found and with certainty referred to the first pre-Christian century were very scattered.³ One

¹ This Greek building dates from the first half of the fifth century B.C. Cf. Adler, *Ol. Ergeb.* Textbd. II, pp. 93-105, and Flasch, *l.c.* pp. 1070 f. and 1104 m. f., both of whom identify it with the workshop of Phidias; Curtius, *Die Altäre v. Ol.* p. 20 (= gesamm. Abhandl., 2, pp. 57 f.), refers it to the Theocoleum, generally identified with the easternmost of the two buildings further north.

² See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 190 (unknown victor, son of Aristotle, *συνωρίδι πωλικῇ*; base found in front of north side of Byzantine church); 192 (Aristodamus, son of Aleximachus of Elis; base found in floor of church); 193 (unknown victor; base found northeast of the temple of Zeus); 194 (.....chus, son of Nicodromus of Elis, *συνωρίδι πωλικῇ*; base found southwest of the Altis before the West Altis wall); Förster, No. 484; 195 (unknown victor from Elis; base found in the Prytaneum); 196 (unknown victor from Elis; base found northwest of church); 197 (Antigenes, son of Jason of Elis, *συνωρίδι πωλικῇ*; base found in southwest corner of the Altis; Förster, No. 808).

³ See *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 191 (Agilochus of Elis, *κέλητι πωλικῷ*; base found in the East Byzantine wall; Förster, No. 807); 198-204 (family group of Philistus of Elis, all in "horse" contests; one bathron for all, one fragment of which was found southwest of the Pelopium, four others south of the Philippeum; names (one not preserved) given in Förster, Nos. 542-547 (one, Telemachus, son of leon, had another statue, see *Inscr. v. Ol.* No. 406); 205 (Philonicus, a son of Philistus; base also found south of the Philippeum; Förster, No. 822); 206 (unknown son of Philistus, base found west of the Prytaneum; Förster, No. 828); 207 (Charops, son of Telemachus; place of finding unrecorded); 208 (Aristarchus; base found east of the Byzantine church); 209 (Damaithidas, son of Menippus of Elis; *συνωρίδι πωλικῇ*; base found west of the Council House; Förster, No. 482); 210 (Thrasymachus or Thrasymedes; base found in the "Nordostgraben"); 211 (Democrates of Antioch, Caria; base found in the Cladeus); 212 (Demo....; base found northeast of the Prytaneum); 213 (Thaliarchus, son of Soterichus of Elis; *πύξ παιδων και ἀνδρων*; base found east of the Council House; Förster, Nos. 614, 619); 214, 215 (Menedemus, son of Menedemus of Elis, *συνωρίδι πωλικῇ*; two statues, one found east of the temple of Zeus, the other in the Heraeum); 216, 217 (Lycomedes, son of Aristodemus of Elis, *συνωρίδι πωλικῇ*; two statues, one base found in front of the West Byzantine wall, on the south side of the temple of Zeus, the other in the "Westgraben"; Förster, No. 550); 218 (Archiadus, son of Timolas of Elis; *κέλητι πωλικῷ*; base found southwest of the temple of Zeus, on the terrace wall; Förster, No. 535);

large Pentelic marble *bathron*, supporting the monuments of seven victors of the family of Philistus, must have stood just south of the Philippeum, where most of the fragments were found. The bases of the statues of two other sons and a grandson of the same victor have been recovered, and doubtless stood near by, thus forming a family group of ten, outnumbering that of Diagoras (59-63 and 52) mentioned by Pausanias. The omission of so important a monument in the description of the periegete has been used as an indication of his employment of earlier lists. Of the other bases, two were found outside the South Altis wall, west of the Council House, and two east of it; two east of the temple of Zeus (one of them that of the youthful Tiberius, afterwards Roman emperor, which must have stood near the Eretrian Bull, where it was found); one southwest of the temple, along the South Terrace wall, pointing to a position among the statues there named by Pausanias; one east of the Byzantine church, pointing to a position south of the Theecoleum; two to the northwest of the Altis, in the vicinity of the Prytaneum, while the rest were scattered from the northeastern part of the Altis to the bed of the Cladeus. Thus over half (13) of these statue bases were found in the west and northwest of the Altis and beyond; the space to the east of the temple of Zeus — called “frequentissimus celeberrimusque” by Scherer — seems now not to have been greatly prized. Most of these victories were in “horse” contests. Horse racing had early been discontinued, but was now revived in the first century B.C., when members of the imperial family, emulating the earlier triumphs of the princes of Sicily and Macedonia, became competitors. Thus Tiberius won in the chariot race, and a few years later his son Germanicus in the same event.

Nineteen inscribed base fragments have been referred to the post-Christian centuries, thirteen to the first, three to the second, and three to the third.¹ The spaces around the temple of

219 (unknown victor, son of crates of Miletus, *δαυλον*, Ol. 190 = 20 B.C., base found near the “Osthalle”; Förster, No. 593); 220 (Tiberius Claudius Nero of Rome; *τεθρίππω*, base found south of the Eretrian Bull; Förster, No. 601 = Ol. 194 ? = 4 B.C.).

¹ Of the first century A.D.: see *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 221 (Germanicus Caesar, son of Tiberius, *τεθρίππω*, Ol. 199 = 17 A.D.; base found east of temple of Zeus, north of Eretrian Bull; Förster, No. 612); 222 (Gnaeus Marcus; base found

Zeus (especially its eastern front) are again the favorite ones. For, the bases of three statues were found east of the temple (one *in situ*), two near its southeastern corner, three at the northeastern corner (one, that of Germanicus Caesar, son of

opposite the southeast corner of the temple ; Förster, Nos. 585, 587) ; 223 (Marcus Antonius Calippus, Pisanus, son of M. Antonius Alexion, of Elis ; κέλητι πωλικῶ, Ol. 177 = 72 A.D. ; base found in the West Byzantine wall at the southwest corner of the temple ; Förster, No. 568) ; 224 (Polyxenus, son of Apollophanes of Zacynthus ; πάλην παίδων ; base found at southwest corner of the Altis ; Förster, No. 823) ; 225 (P. Cornelius Ariston, son of Eirenaeus, of Ephesus ; παγκράτιον παίδων, Ol. 207 = 49 A.D. ; base found in front of the north wall of the Palaestra ; Förster, No. 632 ; two epigrams preserved, cf. Cougny, *Anth. Pal.* III, p. 26, No. 169) ; 226 (Tiberius Claudius Aphrodeisius of Elis (?) ; κέλητι τελείῳ, Ol. 208 = 53 A.D. ; base found *in situ* east of the temple of Zeus ; Förster, No. 634) ; 227 (Nicanor, son of Socles of Ephesus ; παγκράτιον παίδων, Ol. 217 = 89 A.D. ; four fragments of base found east of the temple and one near its southeastern corner ; Förster, No. 666) ; 228 (Marcus Deida of Antioch ; πάλην παίδων, Ol. 219 = 97 A.D. ; base found southeast of temple ; Förster, No. 671) ; 229, 230 (unknown victor ; δίαυλον and three times as ὀπλίτης ; base = 230 [229 older inscription] found in the North Byzantine wall ; Förster, Nos. 624-625) ; 231 (Hermas, son of Ision of Antioch ; παγκράτιον ; base found between West Altis wall and southeastern corner of Palaestra ; Förster, Nos. 595-597) ; 232 (Diogenes, son of Dionysius of Ephesus ; σάλπιγγι five times ; base found before middle of Echo Colonnade ; Förster, Nos. 815-819) ; 234 (unknown victor ; πάλην or παγκράτιον ; inscribed fragment of bronze leg of statue found near the Stadium) ; 235 (unknown victor ; inscribed fragment of bronze leg of statue found near the fifth column from the east on the north side of the temple ; cf. Dittenberger, pp. 346-347).

Of the second century A.D. : see *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 233 (Casia Mnasi-thea, daughter of M. Betlinus Laitus of Elis ; ἄρματι πωλικῶ ; base found northeast of Prytaneum) ; 236 (L. Mincius Natalis of Rome ; τεθρίππῳ and ἄρματι τελείῳ, Ol. 227 = 129 A.D. ; large pedestal found in east wall of the Palaestra ; Förster, No. 686 ; Gurlitt, *op. cit.* 421, and Förster think this statue is mentioned by Pausanias, V, 20, 8. Dittenberger is against this view, and the place of finding is also against it) ; 237 (P. Aelius Artemas of Laodicaea, κήρυξ ; Ol. 229 = 137 A.D. ; base found 20 m. north of northeastern corner of temple of Zeus ; Förster, No. 692).

Of the third century A.D. (after the time of Pausanias) : see *Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 238 (P. Aelius Alcandridas, son of Damocratides of Sparta ; πάλην (?) twice ; base found northeast of Byzantine church ; Förster, Nos. 679-681) ; 239 (Theopropus of Rhodes ; ἵππῳ ; base found east of the temple ; epigram from his statue preserved, cf. Cougny, *Anth. Pal.* III, p. 46, note 284 ; Förster, No. 746) ; [240-241 = inscription on a bronze discus, votive (not victor) offering of P. Asclepiades of Corinth ; see Förster, No. 739 ; he was victor in the πένταθλον in Ol. 255 = 241 A.D.] 242-243 (Valerius Eclectus of Sinope ; κήρυξ, Ols. 256, 258-260 = 245, 253-261 A.D. ; base found *in situ* in Palaestra ; Förster, Nos. 741-744).

Tiberius, just to the north of the Eretrian Bull, and so originally standing here near that of his father), while another stood opposite the fifth column from the east on the north side of the temple. Most of these statues must have been passed by Pausanias in his first *ἔφοδος*, which is another evidence of his use of older lists in compiling his own. Two other bases were found to the southwest of the temple, one of them near its corner, and the other nearer the corner of the Altis, near the base of Philonides. Thus eleven statues stood near the temple. Of the others, four were found in the vicinity of the Palaestra (one inside *in situ*), one to the northeast of the Prytaneum, another northeast of the Byzantine church, while the two remaining ones were found in the eastern part of the Altis, near the entrance to the Stadium and before the Echo Colonnade respectively. The last statue of a victor known to have been erected at Olympia, that of Valerius Eclectus of Sinope, was found *in situ* in the Palaestra.

A study of these inscriptions shows that the practice of setting up victor statues decreased in the fourth and third centuries B.C., but was revived in the second and first, only to decrease again after the first century A.D. On the other hand, the inscriptions show that the number of "honor" statues correspondingly increased. Of the late statues, most were erected to Eleans; names of victors from Sicily and Italy and from the older Greek states, as Sparta and Athens, are rare, being replaced by those from Asia Minor and the newer towns of the Greek mainland. This falling off of interest in the games was, of course, due to professionalism. In the second century B.C. we begin to read in the inscriptions of *περιοδονίκαί*, *i.e.* victors winning prizes at all the four national games, a sure indication of the professional spirit. Even Pausanias mentions two such victors.¹

From these inscribed base fragments, we have knowledge of

¹ Philinus of Cos (173) won 24 victories, 5 at Olympia, 4 at Delphi, 4 at Nemea, 11 at the Isthmus, mostly in the stadium race. He won in Ols. 129, 130, cf. Paus. VI, 17, 2 (Förster, Nos. 441-442; Leonidas of Rhodes (111 c) was *τριαστής* in 4 different Ols. (154-157), winning 12 races; cf. Paus. VI, 13, 4 and Förster, Nos. 495-497. On the subject of professionalism, cf. E. N. Gardner, *op. cit.* pp. 160, 161, and others.

61 victors (63 monuments)¹ who had statues erected to them, though they are not named in the lists of Pausanias. Of the 192 monuments mentioned by Pausanias, 40 are known to us from recovered fragments of bases and statues. So if we assume the same ratio between known and unknown for those not mentioned by Pausanias, we should have the proportion $40 : 192 :: 63 : x$, where x would equal 302, making a grand total of 494 monuments, which number cannot be far from the actual number of statues adorning the Altis.²

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¹ Omitting the bronze discus of the victor P. Asclepiades of Corinth (*Inscr. v. Ol.* Nos. 240, 241).

² Förster (II, p. 30) records only 634 victors from all sources.